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HERE IS THE INSIDE STORY OF INTRIGUE  
WHICH ROCKED THE NATION!

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**DOCTOR MATTHEWS'  
AMAZING STATEMENT**

Before the Dies' Committee Investigating  
Un-American Activities

*Given under oath — Substantiated by documents  
Authentic - Frank - Shocking - Uncontradicted*

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It blasted the United-front . . . . reprisals are now  
threatened by Communists and their sympathizers  
in a frantic effort to discredit this testimony

●

It drew the fire of anger and attempted ridicule of  
the Washington Administration

●

It exposed a sinister plot to shackle a free people

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## MR. J. B. MATTHEWS

Mr. Matthews recently appeared before the Congressional committee investigating un-American activities (usually referred to as the Dies Committee) and submitted testimony regarding the "United Front" movement in the United States. Parts of this testimony were widely published throughout the entire American press.

We believe his prepared statement given before this committee should be reproduced in its entirety. It deserves careful reading.

As a "fellow traveler" in the "United Front" movement, this testimony is given from personal and intimate knowledge of what has been going on behind the scenes in the so-called "innocent clubs." As Mr. Matthews' testimony is extremely important to the American people, we believe that they would like to know more about Mr. Matthews and his connections with the Communist front organizations.

Mr. Matthews was born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, on June 28, 1894. His early educational training, including his undergraduate college work, was received in that State. He left Kentucky permanently when he had reached the age of twenty-one, having spent the latter part of his youth in Lexington where his father was a prominent citizen, businessman, and Republican Legislator.

Mr. Matthews' post-graduate training was extraordinarily extensive and represented a wide range of interests. One year of graduate work in economics was done at Peabody College and at the University of Vienna. Pre-Nazi Vienna was Mr. Matthews' favorite city among all the great metropolitan centers of the world. Its profoundly appealing cultural atmosphere left a deep impression upon his outlook.

Four years of graduate work in Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic were done at Drew University and at Union Theological Seminary, at both of which institutions he received advanced degrees with honors. At Drew, Mr. Matthews worked under the noted Hebraist, Professor Robert W. Rogers. Professor Rogers always maintained to the end of his distinguished teaching career that Matthews was his best Hebrew student. Drew awarded its traveling fellowship in Hebrew to Mr. Matthews and later, at the death of Professor Rogers, offered him the chair which had been occupied for a generation by this fore-



most American scholar. At Union Theological Seminary, Mr. Matthews worked principally under Professor Fagnani and wrote his dissertation there in the field of historical criticism on the Date of Deuteronomy.

Mr. Matthews acquired a degree at Columbia where he spent two years in the fields of history, Sanskrit, and Persian. Sanskrit was his major study, and the greatest Sanskritist of this country, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, was his teacher. Mr. Matthews pursued advance studies in Arabic under Professor William G. Shellabear of Hartford and Professor Snouck Hurgronje of Leiden. Professor Shellabear has stated that Matthews is one of the three most competent scholars in the Malay language who have appeared in the past century and a half. Matthews spent some time in Jerusalem and North Africa working on modern colloquial Arabic.

More than six years were spent by Mr. Matthews in the Netherlands East Indies. There he distinguished himself as a Malay writer, having produced a score of books and booklets in the Malay language. The first of these, published more than twenty years ago, was a translation into the High Malay of Henry Van Dyke's *Story of the Other Wise Man*. During this time, he also edited the Methodist Hymnal to which he contributed one hundred two of his own translations of the great hymns of all time. For several years, Mr. Matthews had steeped himself in Malay poetry in preparation for the arduous and exacting work of translating and editing the hymnal.

Residence in the Far East added immensely to his understanding of the history and achievements of the cultural life of mankind. He traveled extensively throughout the Orient—Japan, China, the Philippines, India, the Malay Peninsula, and many of the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Expeditions into little known and traveled sections of these regions were his chief diversion from literary and educational tasks. The numerous active volcanoes of the Island of Java fascinated him, and the wilds of Borneo lured him to other explorations.

In 1925, Mr. Matthews was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. For almost two years, he worked on the World Atlas which was published under the auspices of the Institute for Social and Religious Research. On this work Mr. Matthews used his extensive knowledge of languages in making researches into delicate questions of geographical history and locations. While a resident of the Island of Java, Matthews acquired a thorough knowledge of the Dutch language. From

time to time, he has been a linguistic consultant to the Geographical Section of the Department of State of the United States Government.

Few men of his time have enjoyed greater opportunities of travel than Mr. Matthews. There is hardly any part of the European continent to which he is a stranger—from Moscow to Madrid. He has crossed the Atlantic twenty-five times. In addition to an intimate acquaintance with Europe and his extensive travels in the Orient, Mr. Matthews has traveled all over the United States time and time again. He has lectured in all of the forty-eight States. He has addressed students in more than two hundred colleges and universities in this country alone.

In 1928, Mr. Matthews presided at the sessions of the first World Youth Peace Congress which convened in Holland. His work at this Congress of post-war youth was hailed as an outstanding achievement in diplomacy. His chairmanship of the gathering was the result of a popular demand of the delegates and was not planned in the pre-congress arrangements. In 1930, Mr. Matthews was chairman of the Conference of International Youth Leaders which convened in Germany.

For eleven years Mr. Matthews was a teacher. His first teaching position was in the Island of Java where he was an instructor in one of the Chinese nationalist schools which were established throughout the Malay Archipelago shortly after the Chinese Revolution in the Island of Java. For four years he was on the faculties of Scarrit College, Peabody College, and Fisk University—all of Nashville, Tennessee. He was a professor at Howard University for one year, teaching Greek and Hebrew language and literature.

Mr. Matthews has written several hundred articles for magazines, including *Harpers* and the *Atlantic*. His books in the English language include *Youth Looks at World Peace*, *Christianity the Way*, *Partners in Plunder* (co-author), and *Guinea Pigs No More*. He was founder and editor of *Consumers Digest*.

Probably no man in the United States at the present time is better qualified to expose the hypocrisy and tactics of the Communist-Socialist "United Front" movement than Mr. Matthews. He was actively affiliated with most of the leading organizations or associations which now constitute this left wing group.

Mr. Matthews was a sponsor of the 1934 conference of the Friends of the Soviet Union and was a member of the National Committee of this organization. He was a member of the National Board of Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. This organization is extremely active in our colleges and schools through the spreading of Socialist-Communist propaganda and literature. This organization also furnishes or recommends speakers for "student councils," "social problems," etc.

At the time of the formation of the American League Against War and Fascism, Mr. Matthews became the first National Chairman and Mr. Earl Browder, the highest ranking official of the Communist Party in this country, became the Vice-President. This is the organization which later changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. Matthews was the Executive Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation for five years. This is a radical pacifist organization "spreading radical Christian views on war economics and race issues" and "for demonstrating left wing Christianity."

In addition, Mr. Matthews was a member of the National Committee of the National Religion and Labor Foundation; Treasurer, Joint Peace Council (International); Corresponding Secretary, National Tom Mooney Council of Action; Treasurer, National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism; member of the Executive Committee, Joint Committee on Unemployment; member of the Executive Committee, Scottsboro Committee of Action; National Executive Committee, American Committee for Struggle Against War; Executive Committee, Student Congress Against War; Vice-President, Consumers Research, Inc., etc., etc., etc.

With this introduction to Mr. Matthews, we feel certain that you will find his testimony of great help in understanding the methods being used today in this country to build the "United Front."

JOHN B. SNOW, Director  
League for Constitutional Government

#### Mr. Matthews' Testimony

The Communist Party relies, for its extensive influence in public affairs, on the tactic which is known as the "united front." It is by the means of this device that the Party's influence reaches far beyond its immediate enrolled membership. Nothing is more essential to a thorough understanding of communist methods and purposes than a detailed knowledge of the "united front."

Much of the information necessary to an understanding of the "united front" is to be found in the official publications of the Communist Party. The remainder of such necessary information must be gleaned from the personal experience and first-hand knowledge of those who have engaged in "united front" activities.

I propose to submit to this Congressional Committee some of my own intimate and extensive knowledge of the "united front." For a period covering the years 1932-1935, it is doubtful whether any other person in this country was associated more prominently than I with the Communist Party's so-called "innocents' clubs."

A brief summary of my "united front" connections will, I hope, establish my competence as a witness on this subject. I was officially or otherwise actively associated with at least twenty of the organizations which the Communist Party set up for the purpose of putting the leaven of revolution into American public opinion.

**Student Congress Against War.** I was among the national sponsors of the Student Congress Against War held at the University of Chicago, December 27-29, 1932. I was one of the speakers at this Congress and also a discussion leader for one of its subdivisions. The Congress was organized by the National Student League which was at that time the Communist Party's agency on American college campuses. The leader of the Student Congress Against War and also the secretary of the National Student League was Donald Henderson, about whom I shall have more to say presently. Students of other political persuasions than communism such as socialists, pacifists, and so-called liberals, participated in the Chicago Congress, but we encountered no difficulty whatever in obtaining the adoption of a set of resolutions which conformed completely to the "line" of the Communist Party.

**National Student League.** On numerous other occasions I made speeches under the auspices of the National Student League. In the spring of 1933,



Columbia University refused to renew, for the following academic year, its teaching contract with Donald Henderson who had been an instructor in economics in the University. For a number of weeks during that spring, we conducted open air protest meetings in front of Columbia University at which we endeavored to make Henderson's "dismissal" into an issue of academic freedom. The fact was, as Henderson explained to me, that he had deliberately neglected his Columbia classes with a view to forcing the issue of his "dismissal" from the University. It was the Communist Party's plan to invest Henderson with the stature of an academic martyr and thereby obtain for him a kind of publicity which would be useful in a larger party service which was then contemplated.

**American Student Union.** In the fall of 1935, the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy (socialist in its complexion) were merged to form the present American Student Union. As a member of the Board of Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy I voted for this merger. The American Student Union thus became the broader "united front" movement among American college students.

The outstanding event in the academic year of the American Student Union is its annual "anti-war strike" on college campuses—an event in which more than 150,000 students have participated on a single occasion. In the spring of 1935, I was the principal speaker for the "anti-war strike" on the campus of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. There I found that the affair was entirely under the direction of the student members of the Communist Party.

**American Youth Congress.** Closely associated with the American Student Union and deriving much of its impetus and direction from it, is the American Youth Congress. According to the official version of its history, the idea and plan for an American youth congress were conceived four years ago by one Viola Ilma who was alleged to have brought back fascist sympathies from a trip to Europe. In one of its pamphlets, entitled "Youngville, U. S. A.," the American Youth Congress has the following to say about Miss Ilma: "She invited representatives from national youth organizations, reaching all the way from the Boy Scouts to the Young Communist League. Her arrangements were remarkably efficient and all-inclusive. And that was her mistake." The fact is that because Miss Ilma was so all-inclusive in her invitations, the Young Communist League in concert with left-wing socialists captured her organization in its infancy and threw her out. This is made clear in Wolf

Michal's Report to the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International. Writing of this capture, Wolf Michal says: "Thanks to the joint participation and work of the young American comrades with the Socialist and other non-fascist youth at the Youth Congress . . . our Young Communist League of the United States helped to bring about a unity of several non-fascist organizations with a membership of over a million." Addressing himself to the members of the Young Communist International gathered in Moscow, Wolf Michal said further: "This is an example of how to influence the masses of youth."

The American Youth Congress is an excellent example of the methods and purposes of the Communist Party's "united front." Among the organizations which have been persuaded to endorse the Youth Congress and to participate in its communist-guided work, we find numerous groups of Christian young people, such as the National Council of Methodist Youth and the Christian Youth Conference of North America. Among the individuals, sponsoring the Youth Congress, as members of its so-called National Advisory Committee, we find, in addition to the usual left-wingers who appear frequently on "united front" committees, the names of Ralph S. Cushman, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Harold G. Hoffman, Governor of New Jersey, and Henry Noble MacCracken, President of Vassar College. Ostensibly these organizations and individuals are associated with a youth organization which is dedicated to peace as one of its major goals. Actually they are being made the innocent dupes of a carefully contrived communist maneuver. By peace, as the communists understand it and work for it, is meant a breathing spell during which the world revolution of the proletariat may be prepared. Wolf Michal, in his report, from which I have already quoted, declares that the American Youth Congress fights for peace because, among other things, "it means that the world proletariat is given still more time to rally its forces for the final overthrow of capitalism."

At this very moment, the American Youth Congress is host to a so-called World Youth Congress meeting on the campus of Vassar College. This World Youth Congress at Vassar is nothing more nor less than one of these "united front" maneuvers dedicated to forwarding the aims of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Anyone who denies this demonstrable fact is either the unfortunate victim of deceit or a wilful deceiver. The resolutions which are assured of adoption at this World Youth Congress will follow faithfully the current "line" of the Communist Party and will express the

same purpose of "giving the world proletariat still more time to rally its forces for the final overthrow of capitalism."

In a recent statement purporting to reply to the charge of communist influence in the World Youth Congress, the American Youth Congress officials asked rhetorically: "Will the single delegate of the Young Communist League of the United States outweigh all the other 49 American delegates?" This statement couched in the form of a rhetorical question is obviously intended to lead the reader to believe that the only communist delegate who will be a member of the American group in the Youth Congress will be there in his capacity as a member of the Young Communist League—a lone communist among 49 non-communists. The statement is wholly false in its implication. Besides being false, however, this statement reveals a typical "united front" tactic of the communists. Last winter, for example, the Communist Party, as such, officially withdrew from the American League for Peace and Democracy. Earl Browder, in addressing the League on the subject of the Communist Party's withdrawal, said: "I do not think it necessary for me to say that this does not mean the withdrawal of Communists from active participation and support of the League. \* \* \* We will do our part more energetically than ever before. \* \* \* I myself am not only a fraternal delegate from the Communist Party but also am an official delegate from the International Workers' Order, a fraternal organization of 135,000 people and in that capacity I want to take my part in this Congress and the work of the League hereafter." The International Workers' Order is one of the best known of the many communist "united front" groups. Browder out of the American League for Peace and Democracy as a delegate from the Communist Party, and at the same time Browder in the American League as a delegate from the International Workers' Order add up to a situation in which there has been no change other than a purely tactical one.

The "single delegate of the Young Communist League of the United States" might well be simply one of fifty communist American delegates at the World Youth Congress now in session at Vassar College, since the Communist Party has many more than fifty "united front" organizations similar to the International Workers' Order which Browder represents in the American League for Peace and Democracy. As a matter of fact, a careful check will show that many of the organizations sponsoring the World Youth Congress and having delegates in its membership are nothing more than the Communist Party in some of its numerous disguises. I have made a preliminary check on the American delegates at the World Youth, and it appears that

approximately 35 out of the 50 are either communists or communist "fellow travelers."

I must strongly emphasize the fact that it is a deliberate tactic of the communists and their sympathizers to point to the absence of a majority of communists in a "united front" organization or in a labor union as proof that it is not controlled by communists. This is done only for deceiving the public, however. The actual communist theory which is basic to its work has always presupposed that it was entirely unnecessary to have a majority of communists in any organization or movement in order to control it or to influence it in a desired direction. The theory holds that the tail can and does, in fact, wag the dog when the tail consists of a group of highly disciplined communists. The Communist Party itself has never aimed at becoming a majority party. In fact, it has always opposed the idea of its becoming large enough to count in its party membership a majority of either the voting citizens or even of the so-called working class. This is known as the "vanguard theory," by which is meant that the Communist Party aspires to be only the "general staff" of the proletarian revolution. It is as meaningless to argue, as communists and their sympathizers do for public consumption, that the American League and the World Youth Congress are not communist organizations because they are not composed of a majority of communists as it would be to argue that the Soviet Union is not controlled by the Communist Party because the party in Russia numbers only about two per cent of the population.

The words of Earl Browder on this subject are clear beyond any disputing their meaning and they give the final lie to all denials of communistic character based upon the absence of a communist majority. "In the center," writes Browder, "as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front movement in all its phases, stands the Communist Party. Our position in this respect is clear and unchallenged."

I have dwelt somewhat lengthily on the subject of this World Youth Congress because it is a matter of vital current interest and because I myself have appeared on scores of American college campuses, in one instance as the representative of this and in another instance as a representative of that communist "united front" but never in my life as a representative of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League as such.

**Unemployed Councils.** Prior to the organization of the Workers Alliance of America, the Communist Party maintained its own rigidly controlled



groups for the unemployed, which were known as Unemployed Councils. Under the auspices of this group, a "hunger march" on Washington was staged in 1933. I worked with the group on sundry matters of arranging its descent upon the Nation's capital. I was likewise frequently a speaker for the Unemployed Leagues, supported by the left-wing socialists, which were subsequently merged with the Unemployed Councils to form the Workers Alliance of America. In the fall of 1933, I strongly urged that merger and personally brought David Lasser and Herbert Benjamin, its two leaders, together on the platform of the United States Congress Against War.

**Free Tom Mooney Congress.** From April 30 to May 2, 1933, there was held in the city of Chicago a meeting known as the Free Tom Mooney Congress. It was called as a "united front" gathering by the International Labor Defense, another of the communist outfits wearing a false face.

On April 29, 1933, I received the following telegram from Chicago:

"Leading congress committee members unanimously agree further united action of working class would be enormously strengthened by your presence here. Congress opens two o'clock tomorrow, lasting three days with vast stadium mass meeting Monday evening

"Scott, Mooney Molders Defense Committee."

I wish to assure this committee that the language of the telegram is a gross exaggeration and that the communists who sent it would undoubtedly hasten to admit as much today. I offer it as evidence for the purpose of indicating that I have excellent reasons and a background of experience for knowing a great deal about the "united front." On the receipt of the telegram I left immediately for Chicago where I participated in the Free Tom Mooney Congress, including a speech at the "vast stadium mass meeting" mentioned therein.

**National Tom Mooney Council of Action.** Following the Chicago "congress," a permanent organization was set up with the name National Tom Mooney Council of Action. I was made the national secretary of the organization.

**National Scottsboro Committee of Action.** In the "Daily Worker," May 3, 1933, I was listed as a member of the national committee of this "united front." I made a number of speeches under its auspices.

Both Heywood Broun and I, who were members of the Socialist Party at this time, were threatened with disciplinary action in the Socialist Party for our participation in this communist "united front." Broun called me aside one day at a socialist meeting and informed me that he was resigning from the Socialist Party in order to have greater freedom to work with the communists. From that time forward Broun has more and more consistently followed the Communist Party "line" in his speaking and writing.

**National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism.** This organization was affiliated with the international communist organization known as the Workers' International Relief. When the National Committee was set up in the spring of 1933, I was made its treasurer. I also spoke for it on numerous occasions. Concerning this National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism, Earl Browder has made and published two comments which apply, in principle, with equal force to numerous other communist "united fronts." "This committee," said Browder, "has been allowed to drift along and spend most of the little money that it has collected for the expenses of the collection." On several occasions, I tried as treasurer of the organization to obtain an accounting of funds raised and expended, but without success. A competent stenographer, who was not a communist, who was employed by this communist "united front" came to me to complain that she was being paid a salary of only five dollars a week. Thorough investigation would reveal that such gross and callous exploitation of labor is not uncommon in these organizations which exist ostensibly to advance the living standards of workers. The other comment of Browder to which I make reference is extremely enlightening. "On this anti-fascist committee," said Browder, "we placed Muste as chairman . . . merely as a 'united front' decoration." There are now literally several thousands of more or less prominent citizens in this country who as dupes, stooges and decoys readily lend their names as "decorations" for these maneuvers of the Communist Party.

**International Labor Defense.** In May 1933 I made a speech for this communist "innocents' club" in Union Square. In more recent years, this organization has been able to avail itself of the services of members of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress.

**American Committee for Struggle Against War.** In the summer of 1932, the communists set up the World Committee for the Struggle Against War with a world congress convened in Amsterdam, Holland. At the Amsterdam

Congress, communists were instructed to set up national committees in their respective countries. The American Committee for Struggle Against War was the forerunner of the American League Against War and Fascism.

In the spring of 1933, I made a number of speeches for the American Committee, including one at a waterfront demonstration on the occasion of the landing in this country of a distinguished Japanese diplomat. William Simons (later the Communist Party organizer in Omaha, Nebraska) and I were the speakers on this occasion. Simons insisted before the demonstration that we make every effort to provoke and defy the police with a view to compelling our arrest by them. Simons himself defied the police when they ordered us to disperse. He was clubbed and arrested. I was knocked from the chair on which I was standing while trying to make a speech in the midst of the general hubbub.

I emphasize this incident especially as it is typical of the communist tactic of provocation. It is the rule on all such occasions to make it as difficult as possible for the police to avoid arresting the demonstrators. Arrest and imprisonment, preferably with a little clubbing thrown in for good measure, are held to be proof of the brutality of the capitalist class and evidence of the inevitable violence of the class struggle. It is held essential in all communist labor connections with employers to use this provocative tactic to the limit, first in making demands that are almost certain to be impossible of acceptance by the employer—including the invention of grievances where none in fact exist—and then in the use of all possible provocative violence against the employer with a view to placing him in an unfavorable light with the public when he takes measures to protect his life and property. These things are elementary in the labor union tactics of communists and are as well known to the labor administrators of the federal government as to anyone. On no other subject have the communists written more voluminously and clearly than on this subject of their labor union tactics.

**American League Against War and Fascism.** This is the most ambitious and influential of all the communist "united fronts" launched in this country. The name of the organization, I hardly need to remind this committee, was changed last winter to the American League for Peace and Democracy. For brevity's sake I shall hereafter speak of this "united front" of the Communist Party simply as the American League.

The American League now claims four million adherents in this country. The extent of its influence is, perhaps, better measured by the fact that it has recently obtained the endorsement for its parade on August 6th this year of the Solicitor General of the United States than by its claim of four million adherents. It also numbers among its supporters in one way or another high personages whose names I prefer not to mention.

In September, 1933, a dingy old hall known as the St. Nicholas Arena, in New York City, housed the United States Congress Against War. I presided over that gathering. This Congress Against War was planned by an arrangements committee of which I was the chairman. The sessions of this arrangements committee were held twice a week throughout the summer of 1933. The United States Congress Against War set up the American League and selected me as its first national chairman.

The nations of the world were bristling with new armaments. The threat of a new world war was increasing every year. Japan had seized Manchuria, Hitler had come to power in Germany, and Mussolini was rattling the saber with increased vigor. Our new organization, the American League, was set up for the purpose, or so it appeared on the surface, of enlisting millions of Americans to stop the drift to war and fascism. Our ostensible aim was to mobilize the peace sentiments of Americans into a powerful single force of public opinion. This, at least, was our story for publication.

We set out to obtain the support of peace organizations, churches, trades and labor unions, and fraternal bodies. Every group, in fact, in which we could find any sentiment against war and fascism was the object of our solicitation.

Donald Henderson, as secretary of the American League, ran our national headquarters in New York, Henri Barbusse from France and Tom Mann, Lord Marley and John Strachey from England made speeches in many parts of the United States on behalf of the newly formed American League. I made organization and speaking visits to Boston, Worcester, Northampton, Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Erie, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Youngstown, Detroit and Washington.

We interviewed clergymen, college professors, professional leaders and labor unionists asking them to speak for us or to lend us their names as members of local committees.



All of these things were on the surface.

But now for the inside facts about the American League.

The decision to set up the American League was actually made in Moscow. It all started with the triumph of Hitler in Germany. Hitler's rule spelled the disastrous defeat of the communist movement in Germany. It also marked the complete failure of the foreign policy of the Communist International in other countries of the world. The substance of that Soviet policy was the baiting of social democrats, socialists, liberals and the so-called reformists among trade unionists. Moscow declared that these, rather than the fascists, were the chief enemies of communism. They were dubbed "social fascists" and were everywhere attacked and slandered. The result of that policy had left the communists a weak and isolated sect. In Germany, the Communist Party faced annihilation. In France, the United States and Great Britain, it had no substantial influence. Moscow foresaw a military showdown with Hitler. It was to be a death struggle between the fascist dictator and the communist dictator. Stalin began to feel the need for powerful allies in that coming conflict. How should he get these allies among the unfriendly capitalist powers? He summoned the communist leaders of the world to Moscow. They deliberated, and out of their deliberations came the decision to set up the Popular Front in France. But France was farther developed along the road to the final class struggle than was the United States. Sooner or later the communists must set up a Popular Front in the United States, but first they decided to set up the American League. A prelude to an American Popular Front! Earl Browder brought back the word from Moscow. And I was chosen by Browder and his colleagues in the Communist Party to head the new organization.

I was what the communists call "a fellow traveler"—one who closely sympathizes with most of the aims of the party but who is nevertheless just "a middle-class intellectual."

The actual management of the affairs of the American League was turned over to Donald Henderson. Henderson had publicly declared his membership in the Communist Party a year or two before when he resigned from the Socialist Party and while he was still an instructor in economics at Columbia University. Henderson was later assigned by the Communist Party to agitational work among farmers. He is now the head of the C.I.O. union for farmers. He has lately been active among the pecan workers of Texas. He is

now the head of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America which is affiliated with the C.I.O.

The Communist International selected Henri Barbusse as its international midwife at the birth of the American League. The "Daily Worker," Communist Party newspaper, stated recently that Barbusse was the founder of the American League. Barbusse died in the Kremlin in Moscow shortly after his tour of the United States on behalf of the newly formed American League. The constitution of the Communist International states explicitly that leading "comrades" may go from country to country only with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

In December, 1933, Earl Browder, general secretary of the American Communist Party, went to Moscow to report the results of the decision to set up the American League. "We led," said Browder in his report, "a highly successful United States Congress Against War. . . . The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly."

These facts should dispose, once and for all, of the question of whether or not the American League was launched by the Communist Party. Nevertheless, there are numerous participants in this communist united front who are still fooled into thinking that it is an independent agency for peace and democracy. The Communist Party plans it that way, and "fellow travelers" like myself have tried to make it appear that way.

An amusing instance of the public's "innocence" regarding the true nature of the American League occurred at one of the national gatherings of the organization. Meeting in Cleveland in 1935, the communists and their fellow travelers with a small sprinkling of "innocents" were welcomed by the local Jewish Rabbi. The Rabbi walked right into a faux pas by urging that the task of the American League be broadened to include a fight against communism as well as against war and fascism.

The Cleveland Rabbi may be excused for his error when other prominent churchmen, who know better, nevertheless declare publicly that the American League is not controlled by the Communist Party. The Secretary of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church, has been a member of the national executive committee of the American League from its very beginning. And yet he has been publicly quoted recently as denying the communist origin and control of the American League. It passes belief, but his church organization actually

shares a field organizer with the American League. When a communist maneuver is skillful enough to establish any kind of a connection between the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Communist Party, it is hardly to be wondered at that we were able to fool thousands of others about the character of the League.

There are four orders of individuals who make up a communist united front. We used all of them in the work of the American League. First, there are the Communist Party members. Sometimes their membership is secret, but often it is openly acknowledged. Party members invariably occupy strategic positions of control. Second, there are the "fellow travelers" who as a rule go along as faithfully as if they were actually party members. Usually these are middle-class intellectuals—professors, clergymen, and even Congressmen. Third, there are the stooges. These are persons of prominence whose names have considerable publicity value. They are the real decoys whose names do the work of covering up the communist control of the united front. Finally, there are the innocents, so called by the communists themselves. The innocents are supposed to make up the overwhelming number of the adherents to the united front. The chief object of the united front is to draw the innocents gradually closer and closer to the Communist Party until they are at last completely under its influence. The party members do most of the hard work. The fellow travelers are the go-betweens who bring the communist world and the capitalist world together. The stooges are the necessary camouflage for the united front maneuver. The innocents are the fodder for revolution, although some of them are prospective party members as well.

It was easy to get party members and fellow travelers in order to start the American League. They were to be had for the asking. It required long and patient work to get the stooges. The first half dozen such decoys were the hardest to get. After that the decoys decoyed each other. There was great jubilation in the headquarters of the American League on the occasion when we were able to list as a speaker one of the nationally prominent officers of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Every additional stooge or decoy made it twice as easy to get another.

We had an almost perfect trick for silencing any critics who suspected or knew the communist nature of our united front. All we had to do was to cry "red baiting!" This cry of red baiting is the best trick ever invented, short of a firing squad, for making short work of anybody who dares to object

to communist theories or practices. If he isn't effectively silenced, he is at least thoroughly discredited in that vast flock of citizens who like to think of themselves as liberals. A twentieth century American "liberal" would rather face the charge of slapping his grandmother than to be accused of red baiting. And so the cry of red baiting enabled us to carry on the work of Moscow in this country with little or no molestation from knowing critics.

The first task which I set for myself was that of persuading the Socialist Party to enter the new united front. Socialists generally were well aware, through much experience, of the nature and purposes of all communist united fronts. Nevertheless, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, meeting in Reading, Pennsylvania, accepted my personal invitation to make one more try at a united front with the communists. For several weeks thereafter it appeared that a united front "from above" (as radical jargon expresses it) had been achieved. But such an achievement ran contrary to one of the basic purposes of the communist united front which aimed at separating the so-called rank and file of the Socialist Party from its own chosen leaders. The "Communist," official monthly organ of the Communist Party, had but recently declared that "the highest moment of the united front is when the social democratic masses will turn against their leaders." On the very day that I succeeded in gaining the adherence of the Socialist Party to the united front, Earl Browder was saying in his report to the Extraordinary Party Conference of the communists: "The united front is not a peace pact with the reformists. . . . Have you forgotten that precisely the reason why we make the united front with them is because we have got to take their followers away from them? It was clear that some of the Communist Party functionaries were taking the new united front at face value, having lost sight of the fact that it was merely a maneuver. At any rate, here were the leaders of the Socialist Party actively participating in a communist united front! The situation was intolerable from the standpoint of corrected united front theory. Something would have to be done about it. Immediately, the "Daily Worker," official newspaper of the Communist Party, began a series of articles in which the Socialist Party's leaders were vilified with the best communist baiting. The articles had as their calculated purpose, so Henderson admitted to me, the driving of the Socialist Party's leaders out of the united front by insults. The aim of the Communist Party was to have the rank and file socialists repudiate their own leaders for disrupting a promising united front. The "Daily Worker's" insults were effective, and the Socialist Party withdrew from the united front. The rank and



file socialists, however, did not live up to communist expectations. They did not repudiate their leaders.

In most cases, A. F. of L. trade unions were more difficult to enroll in the new united front. In those days, five years ago, the communists were guilty of "dual unionism." They had set up their own red unions under an international body with headquarters in Moscow. Among these red unions which were participating in the newly formed American League were the National Textile Workers Union, the National Mine Workers Union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union. True, they were largely "paper" unions without any significant membership, but as long as they existed they were guilty of "dual unionism." Their presence in our united front was all the proof that A. F. of L. unions generally needed to establish the communist control of the American League. There were, however, a few A. F. of L. unions in which communists were effectively boring. Although they constituted an insignificant numerical minority in these unions, the "planted" communists were instructed by the Party to introduce resolutions of affiliation with the American League. A number of these resolutions were adopted although the union membership generally had no idea of what they were doing. Like many other organizations, it is comparatively easy to commit the heedless membership of a trade union to almost any resolution that an enthusiastic member offers.

When I complained repeatedly to Donald Henderson that we were making such slight progress in enrolling A. F. of L. unions, he reminded me that my work was to enroll the members of middle-class organizations and that the Communist Party would take care of the trade unions. He assured me that the communists already had several strategic men in important plants and industries where they would be in a position to sabotage vital processes in the event of war—just in case the United States should become involved in a war against the Soviet Union. In this connection, Henderson was especially boastful of a revolutionary nucleus in submarine plants in Connecticut and of the work of Harry Bridges in the shipping industry on the West Coast. They were, Henderson claimed, secretly allied with the American League.

The one dramatic event at our United States Congress Against War was the appearance on the platform of a fully uniformed soldier of the United States Army. Those were days before the Communist Party had donned the mask of one hundred per cent American patriotism. Earl Browder had

made the most careful plans for the soldier to appear as a symbol of the insurrectionary "fraction" of the Communist Party with the Army. Flying squadrons were placed in readiness to block all aisles of the hall in the event of an attempted arrest of the soldier by secret service men. Other committees of comrades were deputized to take care of all news photographers with instructions to smash their cameras if they insisted on making pictures of the soldier as he addressed the congress. "We also had a delegate from the United States Army," Browder reported to the Executive Committee of the Communist International when he appeared before it in the following December.

How was the American League financed? The procedure was four-fold. First, there was the nickel-dime-and-quarter drive upon the innocents. Next came the money-raising banquets for the upper middle class with Henri Barbusse, John Strachey or Lord Marley as speaker. When these were insufficient, money was borrowed on notes signed by Corliss Lamont. And finally, in a pinch we got Browder on the telephone and had him send over cash from the party chest which was regularly stocked from Moscow. When one of our publicity stories included the name of Corliss Lamont, there was a rule that his family connections with the House of Morgan should be given appropriate emphasis. Marley's lordship was equally useful to our cause.

I must retrace my steps for a moment to call attention to the group of organizations which appeared as sponsors of the United States Congress Against War out of which the American League came. On one such list of sponsors published in the summer of 1933 appear the names of fifty-one organizations. Thirty-five of these fifty-one were definitely communist groups. Among them were, of course, the Communist Party itself and the Young Communist League. The other thirty-three were communist "united front" organizations and communist trade unions from the Trade Union Unity League. Only sixteen of the sponsoring organizations which sent delegates to the United States Congress Against War were in any way independent of the Communist Party. It followed as a matter of course that the 2,600 delegates to the Congress were overwhelmingly of Stalinist persuasion and amply justified Browder's report to Moscow that "the Congress from the beginning was led by (his) Party quite openly."

The United States Congress Against War adopted what was known as "the Manifesto and Program of the American League Against War and Fascism." It reads as follows: (The ten-point program only is given here.)

"1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes.

"2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding national recovery.

"3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the Civilian Conservation Camps, by a federal system of social insurance paid for by the government and employers.

"4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

"5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.

"6. To oppose all developments leading to fascism in this country and abroad, and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorizing and suppression of negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascization of our so-called "democratic" government.

"7. To win the armed forces to the support of this program.

"8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to fascist and war propaganda.

"9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments.

"10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations."

It was recognized at the outset and at all times subsequently that only so-called imperialist war was to be opposed by the members of the American League as such. Other kinds of war were admissible. The question frequently arose in our meetings as to the attitude of the American League toward a war by certain powers upon the Soviet Union. The answer was always two-fold: if the United States joined in an attack upon the Soviet Union, the American League's first and only loyalty was to the Soviet Union and to the end of fulfilling this loyalty efforts would be made to cripple the basic industries of the United States and bring about this country's defeat, including mutiny in the army; if, on the other hand, the United States should side with the Soviet Union, then the American League would wholeheartedly support the United States, and the war would not be called an imperialist war but rather class war on an international scale.

Outright pacifists who abjured all wars, including class war, were to be exposed and fought. In the November, 1933, issue of the "Communist" (page 1124) there appears immediately after the Manifesto and Program of the American League, the following excerpts from the resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International:

"This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight against pacifism. . . . The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated."

Recently the American League held a parade in New York. Harry Elmer Barnes, newspaper columnist, was among the parade's marshals who were invited to make speeches for the occasion. Apparently Mr. Barnes went too far in his pacifism and suggested that the United States should stay out of war, even a war in defense of the Soviet Union! When the officials of the American League saw an advance copy of his speech, Mr. Barnes was promptly notified that he would not be allowed to act as a marshal in the parade or to make a speech. The most pathetic thing about this incident was Barnes' statement to the press that he had not known that "the holy war



boys" had got hold of the American League. There is hardly any excuse for any moderately informed adult in the United States who says that he thought the American League was a peace organization. From its very inception down to the present moment, the American League has been, in effect, a part of an international communist conspiracy to involve the United States in a contemplated war on the side of the Soviet Union, or, failing in that objective, to cripple the United States through mutiny in the army and the stoppage of basic industries and to inaugurate class war and revolution here. It must not be forgotten that Lenin wrote a letter to American workers in which he said: "The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us for civil war against the bourgeoisie." The Communist Party of the United States has not yet repudiated Lenin or this statement of his. The Barnes incident should make it perfectly plain, even to certain high government officials in Washington, just what the objectives of the American League really are. Similar incidents occurred in the very beginning of the American League and have recurred ever since.

In February, 1934, I resigned from the chairmanship of the American League as a gesture of protest against a riot which the Communist Party staged in breaking up a mass meeting of trade unionists in Madison Square Garden. Mayor LaGuardia and Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L. had been invited to address the gathering. Earl Browder telegraphed me asking for a conference in Detroit where I was trying to set up a local branch of the American League. Without any hesitation, Browder assumed for the Communist Party the full responsibility for the disgraceful affair at Madison Square Garden. He explained that the Party had educated its members to such a hatred of LaGuardia and Woll that they would not tolerate any meeting where these two were announced to speak.

Browder urged me to remain as chairman of the American League, but my own education with respect to communist trickery and violence was proceeding rapidly, and I resigned. I was succeeded in the national chairmanship by Professor Harry F. Ward, of Union Theological Seminary, who is still head of the League. Professor Ward is also national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union and the head of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

After my resignation as national chairman of the American League, I remained for a time inactive in the "united fronts" of the Communist Party.

In the spring of 1935, however, I returned to the American League as a member of its National Bureau and continued in that capacity until the following September.

**Anti-Imperialist League.** Continuing the account of my activities in various organizations, I was a member of the Anti-Imperialist League's delegation to Cuba in November and December, 1933. The other members of the delegation were Harry Gannes, columnist of the "Daily Worker"; Alfred Runge, Workers Ex-Service Men's League; Henry Shepard, Trade Union Unity League; and Walter Rellis, National Student League. We had numerous meetings with the leaders and members of the Communist Party of Cuba. The "Daily Worker" of November 9, 1933, said: "The delegation plans to arrange numerous mass demonstrations in Havana and other cities" and is "bringing banners, letters and other expressions of warm revolutionary greetings and solidarity." Actively, but secretly, cooperating with this delegation was Dr. Antonio Guiteras who at the time was holding three cabinet posts in the government headed by Ramon Grau San Martin. Guiteras was later killed by the troops of Batista in the course of plotting a revolutionary overthrow of the present Cuban regime. Guiteras met our delegation after midnight one night, and gave us a pass to travel through the island although martial law was in force at the time. Subsequently we were arrested when we reached the center of the island, and ordered by the military to return to Havana.

**Friends of the Soviet Union.** In 1934 I was a member of the national committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union, and was among the signers of the call for a national convention of the organization held January 26-28, 1934. I contributed two articles to the organization's publication, "Soviet Russia Today." I made many speeches for the organizations in various parts of the country, including two in Chicago and Milwaukee together with Congressman Ernest Lundeen of Minnesota.

**American Friends of the Chinese People.** I was one of the principal speakers at the initial meeting of this organization in January, 1934. I have, therefore, personal knowledge of the fact that it, too, is one of the Communist Party's "united front" disguises. In a recent article in the "Saturday Evening Post," Dr. Stanley High describes this organization as "authentically non-Communist." This is incorrect. Dr. High's error was undoubtedly accidental, but it indicates something of the difficulty to be experienced by the novice who tries to identify the many "united fronts" of the Communist

Party. Dr. High errs throughout his widely read article by understatement of the relationship of the "united fronts" to the Communist Party. He says, for example, that the American League for Peace and Democracy "is not officially Communist," and that the American Student Union "is not organically Communist." No "united front" disguise of the Communist Party is ever "officially" or "organically" Communist. Far more accurate than Dr. High is Earl Browder when he says: "In the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front movement in all its phases, stands the Communist Party."

**Book Union.** I was on the national committee of sponsors which launched this organization.

**National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.** Among other personal connections with this organization, I was a speaker at the "Strachey Protest Meeting" held under its auspices on March 20, 1935. Heywood Broun was chairman of the meeting.

**Labor Sports Union.** This is an international organization controlled by the communists. In the spring of 1935, I signed a testimonial on its behalf urging a boycott of the 1936 Olympics held in Germany.

**"ICOR".** In the spring of 1935, I made a rabble rousing speech for this group at the Hippodrome in New York.

**League of Women Shoppers.** Throughout the period of incubation of the League of Women Shoppers, I was consulted as to its organization and program. This, too, was in the spring and early summer of 1935. It was at that time that the Communist Party decided to launch a whole new series of "united front" organizations dealing ostensibly with the interests of consumers. It was out of this decision that the Consumers Union of the United States, the Milk Consumers Protective Committee, and the Consumers National Federation were also set up. Chief among the Communist Party members or "fellow travelers" engaged in this particular brand of the "united front" are Susan Jenkins, Arthur Kallet, Caroline Whitney and Meyer Parodneck.

**Federated Press.** This organization is the press service allied with the Communist Party. For some time I held one of its press cards.

In this concrete manner of enumerating more than a score of the Com-

munist Party's "united front" organizations and my first-hand connections with them, I have endeavored to indicate something of the wide range of interests around which the party organizes millions of innocent but dangerously gullible Americans in order to radicalize their thought and action, looking toward the day when it hopes to overthrow American capitalism and democracy and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. I hope I have sufficiently established my claim to a degree of expertness in the understanding of the "united front" movement. The growth of the "united front" and the influence of the Communist Party has been enormous during recent years. More progress than they had hoped to make in 50 years.

In concluding this statement, I beg the committee's indulgence for a few general observations pertinent to the whole question of the Communist Party's revolutionary tactics.

1. It is widely believed that the Communist International seriously altered its fundamental objectives at the Seventh World Congress held in Moscow in August, 1935. The fact is that the so-called "new" party "line" was decided upon long before the summer of 1935, and that the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International simply ratified this decision at that time. The so-called change in the tactical line of the Party was very gradually introduced, beginning with the setting up of the Popular Front program in France and continuing sometime after 1935. For example, the new party "line" on religion was slower in coming than other features. As late as 1936, Corliss Lamont wrote a pamphlet published by the Communists in which he quoted approvingly Marx's statement that "the social principles of Christianity are lickspittle, whereas the proletariat is revolutionary." In this pamphlet which is a direct broadside against all religion of whatever form or temper, Lamont writes: "A reformed and liberal church \* \* \* is even more dangerous basically than an out-and-out reactionary religious organization." Contrast these statements with the 1938 party "line" under which Earl Browder declared at the recent Tenth Convention of the Communist Party: "We extend the hand of fellowship to our Catholic brothers."

2. In understanding the work of the Communist Party's "united front," it is necessary to distinguish between maneuver and principle, between transitional slogans and ultimate objectives.

The principle to which communism has always adhered and still adheres is "the dictatorship of the proletariat." The current maneuver adopted by



the Communist Party is to speak everywhere, in season and out of season, of the need to "defend democracy."

The principle which is unalterable in communism is that violence, in which communists take the offensive against the bourgeoisie, is necessary for the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The current maneuver of the Communist Party is to try to impress the gullible with the belief that the party is in favor of wholly peaceful methods of bringing communism.

The principle, stated again and again in communist literature, is that the so-called reformist trade unions must be entirely destroyed. The current maneuver of the Communist Party is to claim a deep and genuine interest in building up these same trade unions.

Georgi Dimitroff, in his much publicized speech at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, explicitly called attention to the need for what he described as "transitional slogans"—propaganda devices to be used in the period preceding the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The defense of democracy," "peace," "the hand of fellowship extended to Catholic brothers," and "building the trade unions," are all transitional slogans which are to be discarded when the moment arrives to seek openly the attainment of communism's objectives.

3. Lenin said: "Our task is to utilize every manifestation of discontent, and to collect and utilize every grain of even rudimentary protest." The "united front" is communism's method of capitalizing upon any current discontent, no matter how slight or rudimentary. If there is current sentiment for peace as ordinary folk understand the word, it is the business of the Communist Party to utilize that sentiment for its own ultimate objectives. If there is current distress in the economic affairs of the country, it is the business of the Communist Party to utilize that distress for its own ulterior purposes. If there is even rudimentary protest against the curtailment of civil liberties anywhere (outside the Soviet Union), it is the business of the Communist Party to organize and utilize that protest for building up its own movement. All this is the major strategy in the communist science of revolution. The Communist Party has no interest in peace, or job security, or civil liberties as most Americans understand these things. They are simply the temporary ideas and ideals which the Communist Party utilizes for its objective of bringing class war, almost universal insecurity, and the complete abolition of civil liberties.

4. It is relatively easy to identify the professional "united fronters" or stooges who are doing the cover-up work for the Communist Party in the "united front" maneuvers. Any person in this class is almost certain to bob up at a number of places in the whole maneuver. Take for example Mr. William P. Mangold who is one of the editors of the "New Republic." Mr. Mangold is, and has been for several years, the treasurer of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The same Mr. Mangold recently appeared in the nation's capital as the representative of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy where he succeeded in obtaining the signatures of sixty members of the Congress of the United States to a greeting to be forwarded to the Loyalist government of Spain. And again the same Mr. Mangold at a session of the stockholders of the Borden Company on behalf of the League of Women Shoppers.

5. The Communist Party relies heavily upon the carelessness or indifference of thousands of prominent citizens in lending their names for its propaganda purposes. . . . No one, I hope, is going to claim that any one of these persons in particular is a communist. The unfortunate fact, however, remains that most of them unwittingly serve, albeit in this slight way, the purposes of the Communist Party. Their names have definite propaganda value which the party is quick to exploit.

6. In Communist Party circles it is a matter of pride and boasting that the party has its friends and sympathizers situated strategically in every important institution in the land—newspapers, magazines, churches, women's clubs, trade unions, government agencies, and educational institutions. Oftentimes party members themselves are so situated. Individually these strategically situated persons may not do a great deal for the party but cumulatively their influence on behalf of the party is of the highest importance. Earl Browder himself has stated publicly that there are active clergymen who are secretly members of the Communist Party. In addressing the students of Union Theological Seminary, Mr. Browder said: "You may be interested in knowing that we have preachers active in churches, who are members of the Communist Party."

7. It is difficult to understand the tactics and the statements of communists and their "fellow travelers" unless their very special code of ethics be kept constantly in mind. Lenin summarized this morality when he said: "Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle

of the proletariat." There is no kind or degree of perjury, violence or chicanery which is not at times found useful to communists in furthering "the interests of the class struggle." On the basis of this code of ethics which Lenin enunciated and which has been the ethical code of Marxists from the beginning, acts and statements which are reprehensible from the standpoint of the ethics of most of the human race become not only permissible but also highly virtuous. A distinguished Marxist professor in Union Theological Seminary, Reinhold Niebuhr, has given this Marxist ethical code theological respectability among a large group of younger Protestant clergymen in this country over whom his influence is significant. In his book, "Reflections on the End of an Era," Professor Niebuhr has expounded the view that we are shut up, as social moralists, to a "choice between hypocrisy and vengeance." Professor Niebuhr holds that the capitalist world is possessed by the "demon of hypocrisy," and that the communist or radical world is possessed by the "demon of vengeance." As between these two, Professor Niebuhr prefers the "demon of vengeance" because it is, in his opinion, capable of "purer moral insights." Under this ethical theory of deliberately taking one's stand with the "demon of vengeance" a significant clerical group under Professor Niebuhr's influence is able to rationalize and to some extent at least justify the perpetration of almost any crime because it serves, as Lenin said, "the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat." Professor Niebuhr has recently become the secretary of a group of clergymen which calls itself the United Christian Council for Democracy. Among the basic principles adopted by this group of clergymen, are the following:

"1. We reject the profit-seeking economy and the capitalistic way of life with its private ownership of the things upon which the lives of all depend."

"4. We propose to support the necessary political and economic action to implement these aims."

8. The manner in which the "united front" activities of the Communist Party are integrated into its whole strategy should be briefly sketched. The party aims ultimately at revolution—the complete overthrow of the system known as capitalism and the liquidation of the bourgeois class, so called. This ultimate aim is, however, to be attained in stages which are conceived to follow logically one upon the other. These stages must be understood in order to comprehend the meaning of any communist tactic at a given moment. I shall attempt to outline them.

The present stage in communist strategy may be called the "united front" phase. This is the period during which the party extends its influence in the many devious ways which I have tried to elucidate—a little radicalization here, a little there, boring, penetrating, infiltrating, ceaselessly maneuvering for some gain, however slight. The program is aimed more at winning an enormous number of sympathizers than at increasing the card-holding membership, although the latter is not to be underestimated. In particular, I call attention to the deliberate aim of disintegrating the Democratic Party by driving a wedge between its so-called "liberal" wing and its so-called "conservative" wing. Before the Communist Party can hope to advance far toward its revolutionary goal, it understands, and rightly, that there must be a sweeping realignment of political forces in this country. That realignment is sought at the price of the very existence of the Democratic Party. Out of the chaos of the Democratic Party's destruction, it is expected that a national farmer-labor party would emerge. The backbone of this new grouping would be the industrial unions, a single political bloc numbering millions and susceptible of being moved as chess pieces upon the political board. The effort of the Communist Party will be everywhere to hold a commanding influence—not necessarily a numerical majority—in these industrial unions and consequently in the farmer-labor party. With a farmer-labor party in power, the Communist Party would exert every ounce of its influence to use it as a means to the sabotage of the capitalist system of production by placing upon that system burdens of restrictive legislation and enervating taxation. These ends would, it is hoped, be achieved by the slogans of social security, unprecedented sums for relief of every conceivable sort, until the collapse of the currency induced a major crisis in the working of the economy. Meanwhile political power would be built upon these gifts of relief—a veritable monster of politics insatiable in its appetite for compensation without toil. Not only upon the economy's currency but upon every other front of the capitalist system, this incessant sabotage would do its work until finally the system would require a receiver. The Communist Party would then step in as the most militant, cohesive and highly disciplined minority available to take over the functions of government. Thus would the dictatorship of the proletariat inaugurate a Soviet America. The reactionary property holders and the idealistic believers in democracy and civil liberties would have to be slaughtered—not because the communists love violence or bloodshed but because they look upon themselves as the fashioners of a new destiny for mankind.



9. In my humble opinion it is of the first importance that we make a serious effort to understand the premises from which the theories and practices of communism proceed. Until this is accomplished, it will be next to useless to attempt to set in motion those counteracting forces which promise any success in combating communism.

I offer this testimony from long and wide first-hand experience, which includes a personal acquaintance with almost every prominent radical in America, with the deep conviction that present-day radicalism in general and communism in particular is the most complete illusion ever born in the human brain, that its usually sincerely held ideals of liberty, fraternity, equality and security are certain to be negated by their extreme opposites if communists ever come into complete possession of the government of this country.

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